

NEWS DISCOURSE ON THE 212 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON REPUBLIKA AND MEDIA INDONESIA

¹⁾ Achmad Jamil, ²⁾ Danof Daniel, ³⁾ Amer Qassem,

^{1,2)} Program Studi Magister Ilmu Komunikasi, Universitas Mercu Buana, Indonesia

³⁾ Department of Public Relations and Communication, An Najah National University, Palestine

^{1,2)} Jl. Meruya Selatan, Kebun Jeruk, Jakarta Barat 11650

³⁾ Omar Ibn Al-Khattab St., PO Box 7, Nablus, Nablus, West Bank, Palestine

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ABSTRACT

The 3rd Defending Islam Action on Friday, December 2, 2016, was the largest demonstration since the 1998 demonstrations. This action was a protest against the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, who chased him. This protest action received great attention from the mass media at home and abroad. This study looks at two national newspapers, Surya Paloh's Media Indonesia, the Chairperson of the National Democratic Party who supports Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and the Republika newspaper which is in the interest of Muslims. The focus of this research is the existence of different discourses on the news of the 3rd Islamic Defending Action. These differences are the result of the interests and ideologies of the two media. The Indonesian Wacana news media rejected the action. On the other hand, Republika supports this action. This study uses the theory of public space and hegemony to show the differences in the news texts of the two media according to the interests and ideologies of each newspaper. This study uses a critical, qualitative paradigm with a critical discourse analysis model of Teun Van Dijk. The results showed that the news coverage of the 3rd Islamic Defending Action produced by Media Indonesia and Republika was based on the ideology and hidden interests of the two media.

Keywords: Action, Discourse, Ideology, Mass Media

ABSTRAK

Peristiwa Aksi Bela Islam ke-3 pada hari Jumat, 2 Desember 2016, merupakan aksi unjuk rasa terbesar setelah aksi unjuk rasa tahun 1998. Aksi ini merupakan protes kepada Gubernur DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama yang menuntut penahanannya. Aksi protes ini mendapat perhatian besar dari media massa di dalam dan di luar negeri. Penelitian ini melihat dua surat kabar Nasional, Media Indonesia milik Surya Paloh, Ketua Umum Partai Nasional Demokrat yang mendukung Basuki Tjahaja Purnama dan surat kabar Republika yang mengedepankan kepentingan umat Islam. Fokus penelitian ini adalah adanya wacana yang berbeda pada pemberitaan Aksi Bela Islam ke-3. Perbedaan tersebut merupakan hasil dari kepentingan dan ideologi kedua media tersebut. Wacana pemberitaan media Indonesia menolak aksi tersebut. Sebaliknya, Republika mendukung aksi ini. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori ruang publik dan hegemoni untuk menunjukkan perbedaan teks berita kedua media tersebut sesuai kepentingan dan ideologi masing-masing surat kabar. Penelitian ini menggunakan paradigma kritis, kualitatif dengan model analisis wacana kritis Teun Van Dijk. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan liputan berita Aksi Bela Islam ke-3 yang diproduksi oleh Media Indonesia dan Republika berdasarkan ideologi dan kepentingan tersembunyi kedua media tersebut.

Kata Kunci: Aksi, Wacana, Ideologi, Media Massa

*Corresponding Author

Email : achmad_jamil@mercubuana.ac.id

INTRODUCTION

The mass media is a huge force to reckon with in various aspects today (McQuail, 2015). In various analyzes of social, economic, and political life, media is often placed as one of the determinant variables (Landert, 2014). In fact, the mass media, especially in its position as an information institution, can also be seen as the most decisive factor in the processes of socio-cultural and political change (Schäfer, 2011)

The mass media can be a means of conveying news, assessments, or an overview of numerous things (Koch-Baumgarten & Voltmer, 2010). It also has the ability to act as an institution that can shape public opinion. The mass media is also capable of being a pressure group on an idea with other ideas, and can even be on an interest in the context of real life (Cissel, 2012). In short, the mass media is able to construct opinions of and movements in the society (Briandana & Azmawati, 2021).

The news of the Action to Defend Islam movement which took place on Friday, December 2, 2016, otherwise known as the Action to Defend Islam III or often called the Action 212 has been circulating in the mass media whose reports seek to form opinions to prevent or encourage the Action. One of the media that prevented this action was the Media Indonesia General Daily. On the other hand, the media that encouraged the action was the *Republika* General Daily.

The reality of the difference in reporting arises because it feels that there are two large interest groups behind the 212 Action, namely the group that supports this Action, driven by the National Movement to Guard the Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council (GNPF-MUI) and other Islamic organizations. On the other hand, there are groups that do not want the Action to take place, namely especially the support group for the candidate for Governor of DKI Jakarta Basuki Tjahya Purnama alias Ahok who has become a suspect in the case of blasphemy against Islam based on the MUI Fatwa. These two groups feel they have strong reasons for supporting and rejecting Aksi. The first group argues that they demand fair treatment and the second group because there are political

consequences if Ahok is arrested, for example, there are many impacts related to his planned nomination as Governor of DKI Jakarta for the 2017-2022 period.

GNPF MUI treasurer Muhammad Lutfie Hakim said that although the 212 Action was not a demonstration, the theme of the Action remained the same as before, namely demanding the inactive Governor of DKI Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok to be detained as a religious blasphemer. (Nailufar, 2016: Kompas.com). Action 212 is a continuation of previous actions based on the same demands as figures and community organizations. The polemic that arose between those who supported and rejected the 212 action was based on the MUI fatwa regarding the statement by the Governor of DKI Basuki Tjahya Purnama regarding the letter Al Maidah, verse 51. In the action on October 14, 2016, the first Islamic Defending Action, only supported by a small number of Islamic organizations, was one of One of them is the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). The action was carried out only around the DKI City Hall building, Kebon Sirih, Central Jakarta. The second action was based on the reaction of the Government's attitude which was considered slow in responding to the MUI Fatwa. In this action, the number of Islamic organizations that participated became wider and received the attention of Muslims even outside the city of Jakarta.

Regarding the role of mass media and the dominant class, quite a number of studies have been carried out, including by Albors-Garrigos et al., (2020), they concluded that discrimination against women not only can happen physically, but it can also happen through the depiction of the media. Media as the fourth estate in socio-economic and political life can shape public opinion (Deuze, 2004). The media can also perpetuate their patriarchal ideology, which in the context of this study is owned by journalists (Ameli, Marandi, Ahmed, Kara, & Merali, 2007). This ideology is implicit in the media so that it is able to shape society to comply with the values that exist in that ideology (Miller, 2015).

Both *Republika* and *Media Indonesia* are well-known and influential national media. Both of them were active in covering the 212 Action events. Both national print

media are still trusted references for the public for this incident. The journalists from the two media have been actively covering the plan for the 212 action until its implementation.

Republika and Media Indonesia have these differences that make the researchers choose news from the two media as the object of study. The different backgrounds of the two newspapers produce different news texts related to the 212 Action. The media, according to Van Dijk (2011), cannot be neutral in conveying information based on rational and reasonable considerations. The media in conveying information is actually an ideological process. It is done symbolically through the use of language to represent and maintain social power and develop ideology (Hena, Rusadi, & Dua, 2021).

In this study, researchers used several relevant concepts and theories. Theoretically, there is a relationship between the role and function of the mass media and its relationship with the practice of democracy in the world, including in Indonesia (Ahmad & Popa, 2014). Indonesia, from a sociological perspective, is a social system consisting of several subsystems such as ideological, political, economic, cultural, mass media, defense, and security subsystems (Ahmad, 2020). Basically, all of these subsystems influence each other, but ideological and political subsystems are the subsystems that most influence other subsystems. The ideological and political subsystems of a government are the basis for other subsystems, including the mass media subsystem (Pratama, Jamil, & Briandana, 2021). As such, the media system reflects the philosophy and political system of the country in which it functions (Setiawan, Sariyatun, & Ardianto, 2018).

Like the state, the press also has its own philosophy. Philosophy is a value system or principles to be used as a guide in handling practical matters. The philosophy of the press is compiled based on the political system adopted by the society in which the press exists (Bolin, 2014). The philosophy of the press adopted by the liberalistic American nation is different from the philosophy of the press adopted by China or the Soviet Union which was communistic before the latter was merged into Russia in 1991. The philosophy

of the press adopted by Indonesia, whose political system is (now) democratic, is different from the militaristic philosophy of the press adopted by Myanmar (Kunelius & Reunanen, 2012)

Before explaining what mass media is and its role, on the theoretical basis it is necessary to agree on the Indonesian Political System, as an independent country on August 17, 1945. Since being proclaimed a State in the form of a Republic, Indonesia has embraced democracy in its political system or government (Solihat, 2016).

Regarding the form of a democratic state, then, the press as part of the Indonesian social system is in the atmosphere of a press that behaves in a democratic way (Syahputra, 2017). Based on political economy theory related to media ownership, in Indonesia today, it is in the modern Liberalism system (Syahputra, 2017). Media life in this system is an economic system that combines the economic systems of libertarianism, capitalism, and socialism (Solihat, 2016).

Modern liberalism takes positive things from the three economic systems. For example, pay television may be owned by the private sector and the government controls the competition among the pay TV. However, the government also provides public TV for people who cannot afford to subscribe to cable TV (Kunelius & Reunanen, 2012).

In general, ideology is an idea for a person or group that becomes a guideline or principle in carrying out their life. Ideology operates on thoughts and feelings which are expressed in speech, writing, action, direct behavior, and other output such as media products either visual or verbal or in the structure of buildings and other structure, music, drama and others (Hall, 2005).

Thus, every mass media as an institution will have an ideology and will strongly adhere to its ideology. According to Downey, Titley, & Toynbee (2014), media ideology will become the life foundation of the media. In this study, the researchers look at media ideology and ideology in the media. The media ideology referred to here is something or values inherent in organizations or individuals in the mass media, according to the vision and mission of the media. In addition, the media is a vehicle for presenting various ideologies including ideologies in

society which are consciously or unconsciously produced by the media (Geni, Briandana, & Umarella, 2021).

This study refers to theories that are in line with Karl Marx's critical paradigm. Marx is a scientist who underlies the concept of critical paradigm. His thoughts have contributed a lot to ideological issues. Marx's concept of ideology has even become a milestone in the development of the concept of ideology (Corner, 2016). He put ideology as an instrument of critical thinking and it became an integral component in the theoretical system (Reynolds, 2019). The idea adopted by Marx is known as materialism in which ideas develop as determined mechanically by the material environment.

Media and democracy as well as freedom of expression as the scope of political communication are closely related to ideology (Yusriana et al., 2021). In general, there are two very influential ideologies, authoritarian and libertarian ideologies. The two ideologies are at two different poles and contradict one another (Putri, Andika, & Annisarizki, 2020).

Between these two different and contradictory poles there are many variants that have developed in this world, according to the local historical, cultural, social and economic contexts of each nation (Briandana, 2019). One of the widely applied ideological variants in the world is communism, which gave birth to an economic system and the mass media (press) which implemented freedom of expression with its own characteristics (Briandana & Azmawati, 2021). Other variants, such as Pancasila, are seen as being outside authoritarianism, libertarianism, and communism. Pancasila also gave birth to an economic, political, and media system by implementing freedom of expression that is balanced with responsibility (Reynolds, 2019).

According to McQuail, media is an institution that is sociologically born in the life of society and its position is influenced by the perfection of society (McQuail, 2015). However, the media, according to normative theories, have rights and responsibilities in order to provide benefits to individuals and society (McQuail, 2015).

Republika and Media Indonesia, which live in Indonesia, formally adhere to

the Pancasila press system. However, these two media also have ideologies in line with the managers, capital owners, and their founders. Based on the above problems, this study aims to analyze media discourse through different reporting between Republika and Media Indonesia.

METHODOLOGY

Research Method

The research using a critical discourse analysis model with Teun A van Dijk. Van Dijk in the discourse analysis model introduces the analysis of social cognition, which becomes a link between discourse in textual form and society (Van Dijk, 2011). Van Dijk analyzes three dimensions of discourse to carry out a comprehensive discourse analysis, between text, cognition, and society (Widodo, Monica, & Garcia, 2021). This research uses a critical paradigm which believes in the mass media as a tool for capitalists to marginalize people who have no ideology or interest.

The news analyzed in this study are the headlines in the Media Indonesia and Republika newspapers. Starting from the announcement of the implementation of the 212 actions until one day after its implementation, November 18 to December 3, 2016. This research uses a critical paradigm which believes that mass media is a tool for capitalists to marginalize people with different ideologies or interests. The capitalists, in this case the owners of the mass media, marginalize groups that are opposed to them in various ways, including not giving equal space to publications in the media. Van Dijk in the discourse analysis model introduces the analysis of social cognition, which is the link between discourse in textual form and society (Van Dijk, 2011).

Unit Analysis

The unit of analysis used in this research is in the form of news text, graphics, and photos related to 212 Action activities which are published on the first (front) page of Media Indonesia and Republika. The text analysis that was carried out included the form of the title and the content texts of the 212 Action news.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis, Media Indonesia and Republika build news on the 3rd Defend Islam Action using almost all the strategies of the textual dimension. Both media use the same textual dimension but with a different emphasis on their messages. This can be identified from the title and content of the media news.

The title of a story comes from the news lead or terrace which is a summary or climax of a story. The news lead is the opening paragraph which contains 5 W + 1 H (What, Where, When, Who, Why, and How) elements which are then developed further with the following paragraphs. The next paragraph which contains the details of the news is called the news body. In short, a story in writing resembles an inverted pyramid (Kunelius & Reunanen, 2012).

Table 1. Comparison of the News Title of Republika and Media Indonesia in the News Coverage of the 3rd Defend Islam Action

Edition	Republika	Edition	Media Indonesia
Tuesday, Nov 22	POLRI-TNI Jaga NKRI [POLRI-TNI Guard the Republic of Indonesia]	Tuesday, Nov 22	Polri – TNI Jaga NKRI [POLRI - TNI Guard the Republic of Indonesia]
Wednesday, 23 Nov	Aspirasi 2 Desember Harus Demokratis [The aspirations for December 2 must be democratic]	Saturday, 26 Nov	Perbedaan Satukan Bangsa [Differences Unite Our Nation]
Tuesday, 29 Nov	Kapolri Restui Aksi Damai 212 [The National Police Chief Approves the 212 Peaceful Action]	Tuesday, 29 Nov	Jaga Kesepakatan Aksi Damai [Keep the Agreements for Peaceful Action]
Wednesday, Nov 30	Presiden: Aksi 212 Bukan Demo [President: The 212 Action is not a protest rally]	Wednesday, Nov 30	Berdoa Bersama untuk Indonesia [Pray Together for Indonesia]
Thursday, 1 Dec	NKRI Jangan Terpecah [the Republic of Indonesia Must Not be Divided]	Thursday, 1 Dec	Rakyat Bersatu Kawal NKRI [People United to Guard the Republic of Indonesia]
Friday, 2 Dec	KEBERSAMAAN MENJAGA INDONESIA [TOGETHERNESS IN SAFEGUARDING INDONESIA]	Friday, 2 Dec	Jaga Kedamaian Ibadah [Maintain Peace of Worship]
Saturday, Dec 3	TERIMA KASIH [THANK YOU]	Saturday, Dec 3, 2016	Presiden Banjir Pujian, Datangi Peserta Aksi [President Receives Pour of Praises, Goes to Participants of the Action]

The difference between the two media in building the news for the 3rd Defend Islam Action shows that there are different ideologies and interests of the two media. Republika is a media that was born from the thoughts of Muslims and Islamic organizations. It can be seen from the headlines that tend to highlight that the Action needs to be done. The title of Republika in the editions on Wednesday,

November 23, Tuesday, November 29, Wednesday, November 30, Thursday, December 1, and Friday, December 2, and Saturday, December 3, 2016, shows the titles' discourse of the Action as a movement that has been approved by the Government.

On the other hand, Media Indonesia, which was born with a national ideology controlled by the capital of Surya Paloh, presented the ideology of the owners of the

capital in voicing and reporting the events of the 3rd Defend Islam Action. This news outlet tends to prevent the Action from taking place.

Media Indonesia, in an effort to strengthen its ideological influence, has even tried to stage the discourse that the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is under a threat by creating a new discourse of the United Archipelago Parade. This media also does not appreciate this action.

Superordination of Capital Owners and Media Ideology

The news produced by *Republika* and *Media Indonesia* on the Defend Islam Action is basically aimed at defending the ideology of the two media. *Republika* is a mass media based on Muslim readers, while *Media Indonesia* is based on general (nationalist) readers.

Stuart Hall argues that the mass media is the most important means of 20th century capitalism to maintain ideological hegemony, as well as to provide a framework of thought for the development of mass culture (Hall, 2005). The dominant group continuously tries to maintain, institutionalize, preserve power in order to undermine, weaken, and negate the potential rivalry of the party under control (Briandana, Fasta, Mihardja, & Qasem, 2021).

News coverages in *Media Indonesia* and *Republika*—with their respective ideologies—try to shape the discourse for their readers in particular and society in general. *Republika* seeks to form a discourse that the 3rd Defend Islam Action is a form of resistance by Muslims against unfair treatment by the Government, especially law enforcement officials. Meanwhile, *Media Indonesia* seeks to shape the discourse of its readers and society by respecting the legal process and maintaining national unity and integrity as well as respecting diversity in politics and the state.

Media Indonesia and *Republika* are some of the institutions that are part of the social system of Indonesian society. The media institution in this study is seen from the perspective of conflict theory where the position of the media is superordinate and becomes a tool to realize the interests of those who hold the authoritative position. The

practice of media domination is carried out by controlling media content to instill ideas, thoughts, and values that are expected to be followed by society as a subordinate position.

Republika and *Media Indonesia* as institutions are superordinate for their readers. Through the editors, each of them carries out a function to instill ideas, thoughts, and values related to the 3rd Defend Islam Action in order to form a discourse in line with the ideology of the two media. *Republika*, which believes that it is proper for Muslims to demand justice, has made any news related to the Action Plan and the implementation of the Defend Islam Action a must. On the other hand, *Media Indonesia*, whose leader is the General Chairperson of the Democratic National Party as a supporter of the Candidate for Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, considers producing news as an effort to form a discourse on Action is inappropriate and threatens the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila.

The political and economic interests of the capital owners from the media are faced with the pressure of the Muslims represented by the National Movement for Fatwa Defenders of the Indonesian Ulema Council (GNPF MUI) to be the most powerful factor in shaping the discourse around the 3rd Defend Islam Action.

The interests of the two media were observed as different, from providing space for news texts related to the 3rd Defend Islam Action to the choice of names of figures, for example in comments from GNPF MUI figures, socio-political observers, government officials, and political party figures. This can be proven in this study, where *Media Indonesia* in its seven news spaces, which is the unit of analysis, never writes and gives the opportunity to quote comments even for the most central figure of the 3rd Defend Islam Action, i.e. Habieb Rizieq Syihab. On the other hand, *Republika* still provides space for Rizieq Syihab in its news coverage, as in the Tuesday edition, November 29, 2016. In the news of this edition, *Republika* quoted the statement of the Chairman of the Islam Defenders Front.

This fact shows that Jurgen Habermas' Public Sphere teaches that society can be understood not only in one dimension. The three dimensions that exist in society

(work, interaction, and power) are important. These three dimensions are necessary to understand society as a whole. There is imbalance of freedom of speech in society (Habermas, Derrida, & Borradori, 2003). This happened when Media Indonesia did not provide equal opportunities for Rizieq Syihab to communicate with readers of this news outlet.

According to (Syahputra, 2020) the ideal speech situation that must be modeled in society is as follows: first, the ideal situation for speech requires freedom of speech; there must be no limit to what can be revealed. Second, all individuals must have equal access to speech. In other words, all positions and speakers must be considered valid. Finally, the norms and obligations of society are not one-sided, but distribute power equally to all statuses in society. Only when all these conditions are met will freedom of communication truly occur (Littlejohn & Foss, 2010).

Freedom of communication in the form of a discourse in the 3rd Defend Islam Action is very important (Santoso, Kholil, & Pohan, 2019). The people of DKI Jakarta will not act in normal living conditions if they are able to develop freedom of communication. However, there are certain aspects that limit this freedom, such as money, bureaucracy, and power. Of course, in this case, Media Indonesia did not provide Habib Rizieq a chance because it was against the ideology of the owners of Media Indonesia.

In Media Indonesia and Republika, which are some of the public spaces, freedom of communication should be maintained. However, it turns out that they are also limited by aspects of money, bureaucracy, power, and also ideology. In addition, both media are closely guarded by journalism ethics.

False Ideologies of the Two Mass Media

Daily Media Indonesia and Republika each defend their ideology for the hidden interests of the two media. Harian Republika clearly played the news of Action to Defend Islam III to gain the support of the reader community, while Media Indonesia, whose owner is the Chairperson of the National Democratic Party which is the supporter of Jakarta Governor Candidate Basuki Tjahya

Purnama, rejected this action to win the gubernatorial election.

In an interview with Heri Ruslan, Editor of Republika, he said that Republika has a close historical relationship with Muslims so that its reporting follows the wishes of the market. Meanwhile, Ade Alawi, Editor of Media Indonesia said that the message of the owner is that Media Indonesia must uphold the four pillars of the State and uphold the ideology of the media in which they work. The two editors agree that through the news they produce, they try to shape the discourse in society according to the ideology of the media.

The ideological system is not caused by the economic system alone but is deeply implanted in all aspects. Ideology is not imposed by one group on another but is persuasive and unconscious. The dominant ideology fuels the interest of certain groups over others, and the media plays an important role in this process. (Littlejohn, 2011:433).

In reality, the process of mass media construction on social reality is believed by Frankfurt School thinkers cannot be separated from partisanship. The role of capitalists or owners of capital is very dominant to defend their interests. As is known, today, there is almost no mass media that is not owned by capitalists. In the sense of the forces of capital to make the mass media as an engine of money creation and multiplication of capital.

Journalistic and Implementation Code of Ethics

Republika and Media Indonesia are media institutions that have high credibility so that journalists' adherence to the journalistic code of ethics is of great concern. Based on the statement of Media Indonesia Executive Editor Assistant Ade Alawi and Deputy Managing Editor Heri Ruslan, every journalist must comply with the journalistic code of ethics.

Based on the analysis and observation of all news in these two media, it has an element of the feasibility of a news item based on Article 5 of the Indonesian Journalistic Code of Ethics.

During the coverage of the 3rd Defend Islam Action, the news produced by the two newspapers did not receive a formal reaction from certain individuals or

institutions that were involved in the process of the 3rd Defend Islam Action, either supporting or not. Journalists have good cognition in understanding their profession. However, Media Indonesia Editorials produce news according to the discourse they want to build. The Journalistic Code of Ethics cannot reach the existence of injustice in Media Indonesia. There was no opportunity for Habib Rizieq and GNPf MUI figures to appear to express their opinions in the media,

which is not covered by the journalistic code of ethics.

In an effort to defend the ideology of these two media, they also try to comply with the Journalistic Code of Ethics. However, based on textual analysis, it was found that there were some differences in the reporting of the two media which could not be regulated by the Journalistic Code of Ethics. The following point below are the findings of the differences in news coverage on the 3rd Defend Islam Action:

Table 2. Differences in news coverage by Republika and Media Indonesia in reporting on the 3rd Defend Islam Action

Republika	Media Indonesia
<i>Tuntutan Keadilan Umat Islam</i> [Demands Justice for Muslims]	<i>Hormati Proses Hukum</i> [Respect the Legal Process]
<i>Aksi Umat Islam</i> [Action for Muslims]	<i>Aksi Demonstrasi Biasa</i> [Common Protest Rally]
<i>Memberi Ruang Bicara Bagi Tokoh GNPf MUI</i> [Providing Space for Speech for GNPf MUI Figures]	<i>Tidak Memberi Ruang Bagi Tokoh GNPf MUI</i> [Not Providing Space for Speech for GNPf MUI Figures]
<i>Tidak Membangun Wacana Anti NKRI</i> [The Action is Not Building Anti-NKRI Discourse]	<i>Membangun Wacana Anti NKRI</i> [The Action is Building Anti-NKRI Discourse]

CONCLUSION

This study has succeeded in identifying the news texts of the two media between Republika and Media Indonesia containing dimensions and elements of discourse to reinforce the ideology of each of these media. The news for the 3rd Defend Islam Action which was produced by the two newspapers was produced by their editorial staff based on the ideology and hidden interests of the media. These two media build news based on the same social context, i.e. the anger in the community, especially Muslims, and the power struggle for the position of the Governor of DKI Jakarta. The results of the study also show that the journalistic code of ethics is unable to reach or regulate editors to behave fairly in providing public space in the media.

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